which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and spring bows) along with traps constituted their only hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importation of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped, dogs played an important economic role. These dogs were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat and skin clothing during the winters. These people were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, influenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth. At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities, small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade. With these goods as a medium of exchange they began to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords, lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes ——— In lieu of The death penalty

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zuzetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 of the members of the group but were prohibited to 226 outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be [685] compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. [224] In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached [685] in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]
224

> There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 While it may seem that the above divisions were the [175] result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over [671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly 628 over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in 226 reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dic- [224] tated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

595 five wives or even seven or eight wives. The higher the man's position the more wives he had." It is well [554] known that Chief Tsukinoi of Kunashiri had eighteen wives. Each of these wives had separate homes and in the *Tsugaru Kibun* [Strange Stories About Tsugaru] we find:

> Those who left the village to work had a wife at each place they stopped. However these women were wives in name only as they were given no support for living. Whenever the men left for work they rested at these houses or they even made a trip for the sole purpose of visiting these wives after which they would return to their permanent dwellings.

It has been suggested that the polygamy of the Ainu was due to carnal excess or to the vanity of having many wives or to the desire for many children. However, I believe that Ainu polygamy was due to the prevalence of compassionate marriage in their society and there is evidence for this belief. In the *Ezo* [768] *Shima Ki* it says, "When a man died, his wife instead of going to her kinsfolk, went to live with her husband's close relatives. Therefore, a man with many relatives had many wives." Polygamy also seems to have resulted from the custom of the rich caring for the widows as is seen in *Watarishima Hikki*:

[622] It was usual for the chief to have many wives. Although those of ill character took advantage of this custom and caused no little trouble, yet this custom was not due to their licentious desires. Those who were poor or weak from old age and who realized that their daughters would not be secure in their livelihood as the wife of an average man asked the chief to take their daughter as his mistress.

● [556] It is true that those with many wives gained great economic benefit from their free labor and later there arose the custom of taking many wives simply for the economic advantages. The *Matsumae Shi* states: "Those who were supporting many wives were, without exception, always wealthy."

569 Slaves, called *Utare*, existed in Ainu society. Although there have been various opinions about the exact status of the *Utare*, the *Ezo Fūdoki* takes them to be slaves: "There were slaves called *Utare*. When in the presence of a chief they extended their hands, bent their bodies and never failed to show respect. During periods of mourning at their master's house they served him food." The *Ezo Sōshi* refers to them as follows: "Those with power and wealth had many house servants called *Utare* who served hereditarily. When the master went out of the village to work, his *Utare* and his wives accompanied him and would help the master." The *Moshiogusa* [Vocabulary of Ainu] refers to them as retainers or servants. Batchelor says, however, that the word *Utare* originally meant "fellowmen" or "man" and Dr. Kindaichi in his *Karafuto Ainu Goi* [Karafuto Ainu Vocabulary][52]

[52] Kindaichi Kyōsuke trans., *Ainu Monogatari* (Ainu stories), Suppl.

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states that it was a word for "wife, family, wife and children." *Utare* then probably meant "a man of the same kinsfolk," "a man of the same village," or "a man who was equal," and when the suffix was changed the word took on the connotation of "belonging to" and came to mean a servant or retinue of servants.[53] It may have become a word to denote those who became members of the village through possession for there were those who had become village residents through capture in war. On the other hand, there were those who had been born in the village and, unable to support themselves, had been taken into the custody of those with wealth. The *Watarishima Hikki* states: "Although there were men who could not support themselves and became dependents of the chiefs, they were called *Utare* and the word 'slave' was never used." Therefore, while their position was low there was no difference in the work they did as compared with the other members of the village. In later years as the wealth and position of the masters increased these *Utare* came to be bought and sold.[54] And no doubt among these *Utare* were relatives who had been unable to support themselves. There also existed a class of *"Usshiu"* usually held to be a class under the servants but probably this was another name for the *Utare*.[55]

Families with wives and slaves had the best chance of obtaining wealth, but that family with the best chance of obtaining wives and slaves was the head family. Slaves who came into a village as the result of capture, sales or trade, came under the jurisdiction of the chief who managed the communal property. It was also his duty to support those in need as though they were of his family, as well as to look after the widows of men from his group (it is illogical to speak of his "marriage" to the widows who became his "wives"). The right of the adjudication of communal property, the possession of "slaves," and the large number of "wives" made for a great difference in wealth between the family of the chief and the other families of the village. The chief's family simply had the largest available labor force; yet no sense of economic class resulted from this difference. For, while the chief was free to do as he pleased with his wealth, he was also obligated to the endless protection of his village. In this sense the wealth of a chief was common property and the chief merely the supervisor of its distribution.

3. SOCIAL REGULATION

Originally Ainu society was maintained by taboos which had religious significance and there are many

[53] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 496 ff.

[54] In the diary of Kimura Shikyō under the date of July 10 we find that Mogami Tokunai bought and gave an *Utare* to his Ainu servant instead of a sword he had promised him as a reward. It is noted also in the *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* that there were people in Sōya and Karafuto who kidnapped lone persons and sold them in Manchuria.

[55] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 231, fn.

power of the village was insufficient to cope with the problem. This is discussed in *Eso Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life. Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

[P. 22 (B)]

105 421 tresses had so many more people to work for them that they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 556 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for 105 554 565 others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benevolence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan* [557] *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the 105 622 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet [273] wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

118 622 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the communal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four [627] servants to serve him." The heads of other families in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a [623] general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a 105 64 nation because their economy never developed to the point where it could support a permanent political organization and when they did acquire. from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing. 000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 refrain from eating. And so thou didst utterly destroy
226 me. (By casting the cut-up fish to the four winds the gentleman destroyed the demon of famine). Tomorrow, when thou dost arise from thy couch, do thou set up a fetish and name the demon of famine. Thou shalt then see what thou shalt see.' Such was the dream.

556 "The next day the gentleman arose and reflected
778 thus: 'Some god or other has been playing upon me and has made me dream that dream. He told me to make and offer a fetish, which I will do at once.' He did so, and worshipped it, mentioning the name of the god of famine. The fish then came again in greater numbers than ever. The famine demon was put to flight and the gentleman was very happy. He prospered greatly and every season had in his waters a superabundance of fish, which he caught and dried. The six storehouses were filled to their fullest extent with food, and the people again went to him and purchased it, carrying many precious things and swords in exchange. They paid him well indeed.

"This went on every season, so that the gentleman became the most wealthy man in the whole country and his house was well stocked with riches. Aye, he became an exceedingly famous person."

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
● [556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[784] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]
[231]
[173]
[174]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.